S E C R E T/SENSITIVE 200656Z MAY 74

IMMEDIATE

MAY 19, 1974

HAKTO 113

GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM:

TO:

SECRETARY KISSINGER

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT:

BEGIN TEXT:

- 1. THE STAGE IS SET FOR A CLIMACTIC EFFORT OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS TO BRING TO A SUCCESSFUL FRUITION THE SYRIAN-ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT. AFTER LONG, TEDIOUS AND DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER MEIR AND HER KEY CABINET COLLEAGUES, I WILL BE BRINGING TO DAMASCUS MONDAY AN ISRAELI MAP WHICH REFLECTS THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL RELATING TO THE QUNEITRA AREA WHICH HAS BROKEN THE IMPASSE.
- 2. TODAY WE HAD LENGTHY TALKS ON ALL THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT INCLUDING THE AREA OF SEPARATION, THE AREA OF LIMITATIONS, THE NATURE AND MANDATE OF THE UN PRESENCE, THE PRISONER OF WAR ISSUE, THE TIMING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT, AND THE SCENARIO FOR SIGNING THE AGREEMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORKW OF THE MILITARY WORKING GROUP AT GENEVA, HOPEFULLY EARLY NEXT WEEK.

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I CAN FORESEE AT LEAST SEVERAL ISSUES ON WHICH IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE COMMON GROUND. THE ISRAELIS AND THE SYRIANS HAVE RATHER MARKED DIFFERENCES, WHICH I HOPE CAN BE BRIDGED, ON THE ZONES OF LIMITATION AND THE UN PRESENCE. NEVERTHELESS, I BELIEVE EACH SIDE HAS NOW DECIDED THAT AN INTENSIVE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE OVER THE NEXT SERVERAL DAYS TO CONCLUDE THIS NEGOTIATION SUCCESSFULLY AND I AM, THEREFORE, HOPEFUL OF THE RESULTS.

State Dept. review completed

4. I AM ASSUMING, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE OVERALL AGREEMENT I CAN PROCEED ALONG THE LINES OF YOUR INSTRUCTIONS TO DEVELOP CERTAIN WRITTEN ASSURANCES IN THE FORM OF LETTERS FROM YOU TO PRESIDENT ASSAD AND PRIME MINISTER MEIR IN THE SAME WAY IN WHICH YOU PROVIDED ASSURANCES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT. THE FOLLOWING LETTERS WILL BE NECESSARY:

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

- (A) A LETTER WOULD SPELL OUT THE ISRAELI ASSURANCE TO US AS TO THE NATURE OF THE LIMITATION OF ITS FORCES ON THE BIG HILLS WEST OF QUNEITRA.
- (B) AN ASSURANCE TO ASSAD THAT WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS IN THE NEXT STAGE TO ACHIEVE A DURABLE AND STABLE PEACE IN THE AREA.
- (C) AN ASSURANCE TO ISRAEL REGARDING LONG-TERM MILITARY SUPPLY ALONG THE LINES OF YOUR VARIOUS MESSAGES TO ME.
- JERUSALEM AND DAMASCUS. I AM KEEPING THE OTHER KEY ARABS AS WELL AS THE SHAH INFORMED AS WELL AS BOTH THE SOVIETS AND THE CHINESE. I AM PLEASED TO REPORT THAT BOTH THE SYRIANS AND THE ISRAELIS AGREE THAT AT ANY SIGNING CEREMONY IN GENEVA WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MILITARY WORKING GROUP THERE ARE NO OBJECTIONS TO THE US AND SOVIETS OBSERVING THE SIGNING. THERE WILL ALSO BE SOME TECHNICAL DETAILS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS AGREEMENT THAT THE ISRAELIS AND SYRIANS WILL HAVE TO WORK OUT WITHIN THE MILITARY WORKING GROUP AT GENEVA, BUT THIS WILL NOT AFFORD THE SOVIETS AN OPPORTUNITY TO INJECT THEMSELVES IN A HARMFUL MANNER.
- 6. I WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION REGARDING THE VARIOUS LETTERS OF ASSURANCE.

END MESSAGE

7. WARM REGARDS.

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SECRET/SENSITIVE

HAKTO 13

May 19, 1974

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IMMEDIATE

TO:

GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM:

SECRETARY KISSINGER

Please pass the following message to the President:

BEGIN TEXT:

- 1. The stage is set for a climactic effort over the next several days to bring to a successful fruition the Syrian-Israeli disengagement agreement. After long, tedious and difficult discussions with Prime Minister Meir and her key Cabinet colleagues, I will be bringing to Damascus Israeli map which reflects the American proposal relating to the Quneitra area which has broken the impasse.
- 2. Today we had lengthy talks on all the key elements of the agreement including the area of separation, the area of limitations, the nature and mandate of the UN presence, the prisoner of war issue, the timing relationship between various segments of the agreement, and the scenario for signing the agreement within the framework of the Military Working Group at Geneva, hopefully early next week.
- 3. We are, of course, not entirely out of the woods since I can foresee at least several issues on which it will be difficult to achieve commong ground. The Israelis and the Syrians have rather marked differences,

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which I hope can be bridged, on the zones of limitation and the UN presence. Nevertheless, I believe each side has now decided that an intensive effort should be made over the next several days to conclude this negotiation successfully and I am, therefore, hopeful of the results.

- 4. I am assuming, Mr. President, that as an integral part of the overall agreement I can proceed along the lines of your instructions to develop certain written assurances in the form of letters from you to President Assad and Prime Minister Meir in the same way in which you provided assurances in the context of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement. The following letters will be necessary:
- (a) A letter would spell out the Israeli assurance to us as to the nature of the limitation of its forces on the big hills west of Quneitra.
- (b) An assurance to Assad that we will continue our efforts in the next stage to achieve a durable and stable peace in the area.
- (c) An assurance to Israel regarding long-term military supply along the lines of your various messages to me.
- 5. For the next several days I will be shuttling between Jerusalem and Damascus. I am keeping the other key Arabs as well as the Shah informed as well as both the Soviets and the Chinese. I am pleased to report that both the Syrians and the Israelis agree that at any signing

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Group there are no objections to the US and Soviets observing the signing. There will also be some technical details on implementation of this agreement that the Israelis and Syrians will have to work out within the Military Working Group at Geneva, but this will not afford the Soviets an opportunity to inject themselves in a harmful manner.

6. I would appreciate confirmation regarding the various letters of assurance.

END MESSAGE

7. Warm regards.

HAK TO

May 19, 1974

IMMEDIATE

TO:

GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: SECRETARY KISSINGER

Please pass the following message to the President:

BEGIN TEXT:

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- 3. We are, of course, not entirely out of the woods since I can foresee at least several issues on which it will be difficult

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to achieve common ground. Feature he Israelis and the Syrians have rather marked differences, which I hope can be bridged, on the zones of limitation and the UN presence.

Nevertheless, I believe each side has now decided that an intensive effort should be made over the next several days to conclude this negotiation successfully and I am, therefore, hopeful of the results. I am assuming, Mr. President, that

as an integral part of the overall agreement I have the the line of your constant authority to develop for your certain written assurances in the form letters from you to Assad and Prime Minister Meir in

the same way in which you provided assurances in the context

of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement. For example, one letter

us as to the nature of the limitation of forces on the big hills west of Kuneitra. Another relates to a assurance to Assad that we will continue our efforts in the next stage to achieve a durable and stable peace in the area. These will be carefully phrased to avoid an a priori position by the US on the

substantive elements of a rinal settlement of the kind which the A rabs have long passed the United States over the year

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4. For the next several days I will be shuttling between Jerusalem and Damascus. I am keeping the other key Arabs as well as the Shah informed as well as both the Soviets and the Chinese. I am pleased to report that both the Syrians and the Israelis agree that at any signing ceremony in Geneva within the framework of the Military Working Group there are no objections to the US and Soviets observing the signing. There will also be some technical details on implementation of this agreement that the Israelis and Syrians will have to work out within the Military Working Group at Geneva, but this will not afford the Soviets an opportunity to inject themselves in a harmful manner.

END MESSAGE.

6. Warm regards.

F: JJBISCO

SECRET/SENSITIVE